

The Anti-Slavery Bogle.

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VOL. 12.--NO. 41.

SALEM, COLUMBIANA COUNTY, OHIO, SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1857.

ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

WHOLE NO. 607.

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OBJECTIONS TO ABOLITIONISTS.

England has apologists for slavery as well as America. In reply to some of the apologists of the London Times, Charles K. Whipple of Boston, writes to the London Anti-Slavery Advocate. As the English apologists are identical with those we hear in this country. We copy a part of Mr. Whipple's article.

Considering the position of recognized and widely operative authority held by the Times it is not a difficult task to "remember those in bonds as bound with them." It spontaneously tends, rather, to remember those in power, as governing with them. It does not mention the considerations which might plausibly (however inconsiderable) be urged in favor of the course which it recommends to the masters. It is not thinking of the slaves, or of their interests, but of the probabilities of success or failure to its compatriot men, working out a great social problem. These probabilities are not a matter of common place. Who can find a more serious compromise in the course of a man by France was trying to restore his authority to the ejected Earl of Flanders.

WOMAN.

There's some have said
How that King Charles was mighty tender-hearted;
The dukes his uncles likewise; and that none
Were loth to shed blood.

VAN STOCKENSTROM.

King Charles, I say,
The dukes his uncles, and his counselors all,
Are of one flesh, and follow after kind.
There are humane amongst them! How humane!
Homage to lords and ladies, kings and counts.
Homage to such as we? Believe it not.

VAN WHELE.

The Earl of Flanders is the French king's cousin.
VAN STOCKENSTROM.

His majesty, to show his cousin kindness,
Would carry over across of our bodies.
His cousin is not what he calls distress;
To smother the distressed is kind and good.
So with an army comes the good King Charles,
And kindly to his cousin cuts our throats.
And that is their humanity, and such
Is man's humanity the wide world through!

Men's hearts you'll find on one side soft as wax,
Hard as the nether mill-stone on the other.

"Noblesse oblige." High station imposes great responsibility. And it is a duty specially incumbent upon those who wear words with pass for oracles of millions of men, to beware of using language in such a manner as to convey error and strengthen prejudice in their readers or hearers.

It is not true that one man is, or can be, the property of another. In a country where it is possible to any one else, and he cannot possibly alienate that right of property. So of his body, his hand, his strength, his skill. No other person can hold property in these at all, nor claim a right to the use of them except by the owner's voluntary consent. Every claim to the contrary is either a robbery itself, or rests on commercial transactions which robbery was the first basis; is a detraction at every step, of foundation in justice, as the claim of the receiver of stolen goods that he bought them of the thief. A human being cannot become property.

It is not true that any one continues, by involuntary necessity, the claimant of property in slaves. The fact that some of the Slave States hold emancipation within their own boundaries does not, in the slightest degree, justify the retention of involuntary slavery. The retention of slavery is either a robbery itself, or rests on commercial transactions which robbery was the first basis; is a detraction at every step, of foundation in justice, as the claim of the receiver of stolen goods that he bought them of the thief. A human being cannot become property.

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this outrage, (committed by Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, and formerly a personal assistant in the expulsion of Mr. Sumner from that State) was a speech of Mr. Sumner in the Senate which was adjudged to be perfectly in order by the presiding officer of that body. Massachusetts submits also to this outrage in silence, but wishing to testify her confidence in Mr. Sumner, and perhaps curious to know what the slaveholders will do in his next has re-elected him Senator.

All the rudeness and insolence displayed by the Northern States to the Southern States, and, literally, of the kind displayed in these three instances.

But, further, it is not true that either the political party, which at and before the last presidential election resisted the extension of slavery, and which after having labored for its purpose in previous years under the titles of "Liberty Party men" and "Free-soilers," became a respectable minority as "Republicans" under the stimulus of the Kansas and Sumner outrages--or the abolitionists, who remain as they always have been, infinitesimal in numbers--have ever gone too far in any way in opposing the one extension of slavery, the other slavery itself. They have merely used that right of speech and free press, which the Constitution allows, plainly pointing out where in proslavery citizens violate their acknowledged rules, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and wherein proslavery church members violate their acknowledged rules, the Bible and holding both these classes amenable to the obvious rules, binding upon all men, of justice and humanity. And the charge of long "rude insolent, impertinent" has no better foundation against either republicans or abolitionists than against any person who, being injured by the injustice of another, plainly points out to that other person, in terms fully warranted by the facts, both the injustice and the injury.

The concluding recommendation, by the Times, of gradual rather than immediate emancipation, and its final remark--"We can imagine nothing more terrible than the abolition of slavery without preparation,"--are no less than amazing, when we look at this in connection with the experience of the British West India Islands, which unequivocally teaches the very opposite lessons. The accounts of Messrs. Thome and Kimball, (Emancipation in the West Indies,) of Professor Hovey, (Letters from the West Indies,) and of two English gentlemen, Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, who visited the Island expressly to examine the results of the abolition of slavery, and the comparative workings of immediate voluntary emancipation in Antigua, with those of an intermediate "apprenticeship," or semi-slavery, for six years, in the other islands--inconceivably demonstrating that the former was the more humane, economical, and from the testimony of the planters themselves, the more profitable system.

1. The act of immediate emancipation in Antigua (with a population of 30,000 slaves to 7,000 free, of whom only 2,500 were whites), was neither attended or followed by any disorder whatsoever.

2. The emancipated slaves there readily, faithfully, and efficiently worked for wages from the first.

3. The "apprenticeship" (in the other islands) was not chosen by the planters as a preparation for freedom, but only to retain as much of their power, and for as long a period as possible.

4. Whenever there was any disturbance in the working of the "apprenticeship," it was invariably by the fault of the masters, or of the officers appointed to carry out that system.

5. No preparation for freedom was needed; but freedom was found to be the very best preparation for improvement, alike in morals, manners, religion, intelligence, and domestic and social life.

In conclusion, let me say, as one concerned with the records of slavery and emancipation in various countries, and as a believer in those arrangements of the Creator by which good fruit naturally springs from a good tree, and evil fruit from an evil tree, that it is slavery, not emancipation, that seems to me "dangerous" and "terrible"--and that, as to personal safety, I would rather go with my family, to spend in South Carolina or Tennessee the day, or week, or year next following a voluntary, universal and immediate emancipation of the slaves than on any day, or week, or year previous to that event.

C. K. W.

From the New York Tribune.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

A SERMON BY GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D.

A sermon was preached by Dr. Cheever, May 17, on the duty of the Church and the Ministry in the United States in regard to the inquiry of slavery, the education and protection of the African race, from Jeremiah 23, 22.

Dr. Cheever said that his enemies had given him the credit of being a man of God, and that God's grace he meant to use. There was no duty greater than this of the Church towards the nation in reference to slavery. This duty could not be performed by dead resolutions, which were but a convenient anodyne. A sagacious American minister was ordained and was to be supported, and it being a grand looking document it was received. Resolutions were false pretense as this. Nothing but Divine truth and its application by the force of divine truth preached by the ministry of God could do the duty of the Church towards the nation in this respect. For this the Church was organized and was to be supported, and for this the Sabbath was instituted to stem this torrent of reigning rampant iniquity. The duty of the Church was to keep the avenging motives which were avowed by some of the opponents of slavery, God would not permit that forgetting principle, we should wait for the voice of men who saw their fields wasted and grass growing in their streets, to persuade them to emancipation. The spirit by the word convinces not by appeals to men's selfishness, but their consciences. The word of God applied to the conscience was his chosen way of procuring repentance. There might be cases where, where guilt had grown into the national business, religion and law, the uproot of its downfall would be tremendous. Who would speak against it? Not the politicians; they had to do with the conscience of God's world alone spoke to that. No nation had any conscience except as the consciences of the people made it. The popular conscience could be reached only through the pulpit and on the Sabbath. Slavery never could have grown to its present gigantic power if the pulpit had spoken against it and acted against it. It could not have stood up in any State against an excommunication from the Church. But now, in the silence of the pulpit, it was implicitly enthroned in the temple of national justice. From it we had no refuge but the Word of God. And not now, few words would answer, but all the collected thunders of the Bible must be brought to bear. It was said that political preaching gave offense to the people and repelled percholders. This was nothing but a modern and plausible rendering of Simon Magus bargaining with Peter. It was taking it for granted that the object of preaching was not to preach God's word but to rent the pews. God had never meant to have His Word harnessed as a dray horse to drag the finances of a society up hill. The Church was the pillar to uphold the truth--not the truth's currency to pay for the Church. If ministers were un-

dered by the severity with which they preached the truth, it was a gangrene of Simon Magus. The object of preaching was not to pay the expenses of the pulpit and music for the Sabbath's nap. If the Church kept silence in regard to slavery, they sustained it. If it were in Africa they could preach about it with impunity; and they were not to be silent because the nation had need of it. The effect of supplying the truth in any one thing extended to all others. The result of this silence was as terrible as that of the Cap of Silence with which the Non-Resistant tyrant stifled the groans of his victims. It was the business of the Church especially to care for the poor, and to raise them up. Where were they? Was there a nation under heaven that had one-tenth part of the number that our nation had? Never in any age or place was there such opportunity for the churches to meet their high and glorious responsibilities. They had taken the part of their oppressor. They had shut out the slave from their consideration, and, not only the slave, but the free man, if guilty of a skin more dusky than their own. They had said, Put it away; it is abolitionism; avoid it as the pestilence. They might, week after week, and year after year, have insisted on emancipation. But they had not done it. And now, after this delay and dereliction, was it not the more their duty to proclaim from the pulpit the thunders of God's word against this iniquity. The ministers were clothed with his authority for such a work, and the seal of the Holy Spirit was upon us as if they were launched at the broke of this age. They forbade silence, they compelled an outcry. It was amazing that the ministers of God's Word could keep back. This doubling of men's sins was a terrible thing. Every year the days of Jeremiah. Where should men look for light if not to the church and the minister? That sudden blaze of tremulous and living light which flashed upon a year over the dome of St. Peter's was a counterpart of the light of the church which should have been flooding the world with celestial illumination at such a time. Every year the feet of this initiation of the church was to render men nervously conservative of evil or fear of change. The ministry were ordained to declare God's Word, and they could not do their duty unless they spoke against all unrighteous law and the sinfulness of all unrighteous law. Every year such a wrong was not righted, it became more tremendous. The nation's interests were built upon a volcano, the suffocation of justice; it was charged with God's wrath and could scatter an empire as easily as a warehouse. No matter how many be sent to the gallows, no matter how many be hanged, or even Paul himself, had a country cast being engaged in God's missionary work, there was to be saved the needy. When a nation took the babes of four millions of people and stole them from their parents, it could not play the hypocrite and say that it was not a crime. It was a crime, and the nation that would have its blood and its name in America and denounce it in Africa. Never was so mad and monstrous a mistake made among mankind. The masses were fast coming to the conclusion that no law was to be derived from the Bible, but that the law of the precedent would hang themselves, give them rope enough. There was an inexorable law of confusion, which would, sooner or later, cause them to destroy each other and their supporters. The Sabbath was not made for man's mere enjoyment. Was it to be a pleasure to sin? What was God's rule for preaching? It was to please God--not man. If people spoke as they ought, they would say to their ministers: "We have chosen you to warn us of the dangers which beset our country and ourselves. Speak out what the Word of God teaches with regard to it. 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THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORTS OF SPEECHES.

SPEECH OF ROBERT PURVIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In allowing my name to be published as one of the speakers for this morning, I have consented to do so, not for the sake of the Committee, but for the sake of the cause. I have acted with great reluctance. Not that I am not deeply interested in this cause, nor that I have not clear convictions and strong feelings on the subject. On the contrary, my interest is too intense for expression, and my convictions and feelings are so vivid and overpowering that I cannot keep myself from uttering what I feel. I have acted with great reluctance. Not that I am not deeply interested in this cause, nor that I have not clear convictions and strong feelings on the subject. On the contrary, my interest is too intense for expression, and my convictions and feelings are so vivid and overpowering that I cannot keep myself from uttering what I feel. I have acted with great reluctance. Not that I am not deeply interested in this cause, nor that I have not clear convictions and strong feelings on the subject. On the contrary, my interest is too intense for expression, and my convictions and feelings are so vivid and overpowering that I cannot keep myself from uttering what I feel.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am getting away from the subject of the resolution; and, as I have occupied more time than I intended, I will bring my remarks to a close at once, making way for one who, though following after, is greatly preferred before us—one upon whom no higher praise can be pronounced than a simple enunciation of his name—Wendell Phillips. (Applause.)

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It was the misfortune of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large hall or meeting-house, to be crowded to the doors, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be about \$500. A committee had been appointed, at a preliminary meeting last evening, who would go round and solicit contributions, and in the meantime Mrs. Lucy Stone would make a few remarks.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting again assembled at 7 1/2 o'clock, P. M. The room was more crowded than during the morning session. Mr. Garrison took the chair and called the assembly to order. He then introduced Mr. R. W. Sloan, Pastor of the Third Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanters) Church of the city of New York.

MR. SLOAN: I am glad to accept the invitation to speak, which he felt had not been tendered so much as a compliment to himself as a compliment to the religious demonstration to which he was attached, which had ever been opposed to the foul sin of slavery, and the Constitution under which it existed. Other religious denominations had uttered their protests against slavery, yet he believed that the old Covenanters alone stood forth as refusing to accept of a Christian fellowship slaveholders, and refusing to vote or hold office under a Constitution which tolerated slavery. The old Scotch Covenanters had ever held that doctrine, believing that it was the only hope for the release of the bondman from his chains. They refused to accept the Constitution of the United States, not because they were opposed to government, for they believed that Government was a divine ordinance; not because they were not Republicans, because they were Republicans to a man, but because they could not wear to support a Constitution which permitted millions of their fellow-men to be robbed of their just and inalienable rights. The progress of their ideas was extremely slow, but they were cheered by the fact that now many accepted the principle and stood on the platform which, but a few years since, few dared avow. The Anti-Slavery Society alone stood forth as refusing to accept of a Christian fellowship slaveholders, and refusing to vote or hold office under a Constitution which tolerated slavery. The old Scotch Covenanters had ever held that doctrine, believing that it was the only hope for the release of the bondman from his chains. They refused to accept the Constitution of the United States, not because they were opposed to government, for they believed that Government was a divine ordinance; not because they were not Republicans, because they were Republicans to a man, but because they could not wear to support a Constitution which permitted millions of their fellow-men to be robbed of their just and inalienable rights.

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collapsing, like a balloon rent under the lightnings of God. How few there are who are willing to take up with nothing less than the whole truth! But they whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that to die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its truth, yet he felt the thrill of the truth on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which he believed to be a simple abolition. As to doing away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous. He also spoke of what he called the prevailing Phariseism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought a sacrilege to shipper of the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. He does our modern Phariseism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, "Let the oppressed go free." But the Church and the State are both crying out, "He shall not go free." It is in vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abjure their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked, that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing their freedom? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no right which another is bound to respect? Abolitionists do not rely on political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance of the truth, and the whole truth.

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ANTI-SLAVERY SATURNALIA.

The commemoration of the anniversary of the American anti-slavery society in New York on Tuesday and Wednesday, judging from the published proceedings, was well worthy the occasion and the fanatics and fools who participated in its insane orgies. Men, women and children, white and black, were in attendance, to feast upon the outpourings of a contemptible crew of hypocrites and traitors, who are rebels alike against the laws of God and man.

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he proceedings of the second day of the session, as published in the New York Herald, are enough to satisfy Southern men that they have an enemy truly lost to the influence of argument or the remonstrances of reason. But this school of fanaticism is less dangerous to its virulence and venom than those who are calmer in council and more methodical in action.

Such men as Seward, and Greeley, and Giddings, who deliberately count the cost and calculate the chances, are much more to be dreaded than the efforts of Frothingham and Foss, Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster, Miss Frances Ellen Watkins and Mr. Wm. Wells Brown. This anti-slavery society is truly a hotbed of fanaticism, and its members are a thoroughly bad set of men, who are calmer in council and more methodical in action.

THE SLAVE TRADE TO BE REVIVED.

Among the moral reforms proposed in the South we noticed, during the Presidential campaign, a plan to revive the slave trade. It was then thought to be a political expedient; but time has worn away, and political excitement with it, and yet we find that the same plan is being revived. There are influential men in the South trying expedients, at this moment, to revive the slave trade. We take the following paragraph from the South:

In virtue of its territorial relations and its connection with slavery, this country is peculiarly interested in the experiment to revive the slave trade of the West India Islands. Who knows but that the ascertained and admitted necessity of compulsory negro labor in the tropics may operate a repeal to the foolish interdiction against the slave trade? Who knows but that it may correct the moral depravity of christianized men, and re-estate slavery in the confidence of mankind? For the wants of white men must triumph over the negro's absurd claim to liberty; any deficiency in the supply of tropical productions will be made good, if necessary, by the re-establishment of slavery and the slave trade. Idle scruples may postpone the day, but in time the tropical regions of the continent will be recused from decay and sterility by the compulsory labor of negroes. There is no other solution of the problem. The world will not suffer the wealth of the tropics to waste in undeveloped profusion—and if African slavery be essential to its enjoyment, then the world will demand the revival and extension of African slavery.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, OHIO, MAY 30, 1857.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

As the proceedings of the meeting at New York are reported at such length in the Standard we are under the necessity of abridging, and will therefore present here the report of some incidental proceedings of their regular order.

MR. MAY, from the Committee of Nominations, reported the following list of Officers for the ensuing year:

- PRESIDENT.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, MASSACHUSETTS.
- VICE-PRESIDENTS.
Peter Libbey, Maine, Thomas Whitson, Penn.
Luther Melendy, N. H. Joseph Moore, N. Y.
Theodore B. Moses, George Atkinson, N. J.
Jehiel O. Claffin, Vermont Alfred G. Campbell, N. Y.
Francis Jackson, Mass. Thomas Garrett, Delaware.
Edmond Quincy, " Thomas Donaldson, Ohio.
Asa Fairbanks, R. I. Sarah Otis Ernst, Conn.
Jas. B. Whitcomb, Conn. Benjamin Brown, Ind.
Samuel J. May, N. Y. William Hearn, Indiana.
Cornelius Bramhall, " William Hopkins, ".

- AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.
This influential religious organization has hitherto been in favor of aiding and fellowshipping slaveholding churches. But, like the American Tract Society, has at length acknowledged the influence of the agitation of the abolitionists by the adoption of the following resolution:
- "Resolved, That in the disbursement of the funds committed to their trust, the Committee will not grant aid to churches containing slaveholding members, unless evidence be furnished that the relation is such as in the judgment of the Committee is justifiable, for the future being, in the peculiar circumstances in which it exists."

- WE should be glad to know what circumstances in the estimation of the Home Missionary Society, render slaveholding justifiable. Were these pious divines themselves numbered with the slaves, we greatly doubt whether any such circumstances could be found. They would then be ready to decline aiding a slaveholding christianity under any circumstances. The resolution so far as its anti-slavery character is concerned is of no importance. The action of the Society under it may be anti-slavery or pro-slavery of the most ultra stamp, according to the opinions and prejudices of its managers. It is like the provision in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church prohibiting the buying and selling for purposes of gain, which is anti-slavery enough for the preachers of the North and sufficiently pro-slavery to satisfy the Gorseuchers, and other slaveholders and kidnappers in the Southern portion of the Church. But though this resolution is not an anti-slavery resolution it is an act of homage to the fidelity of abolitionists which is full of encouragement to them to persevere in their rebukes and exposure of all union and complicity with the wrong. If it is not anti-slavery, its authors designed that it should serve so to be. Perseverance and fidelity may yet secure the reality of which this is only the seeming, even from the Adamses, Lords and Hopkins of the American Church. We know this is a marvellous faith. But all things are possible to him who believeth."

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Most of the judicatories of the Presbyterian Church in its various branches are at this time in session in different parts of the country. But from them the slave has little to hope, though they probably cannot escape as they would from all consideration of the subject.

The Old School General Assembly is now in session at Lexington, Ky.

The New School at Cleveland, O.

The Cumberland at Lexington, Mo.

The Reformed (Presbyterian) (Covenanters) at Cedarville, O.

The Associate (Seceder) at Philadelphia, Pa.

The Associate Reformed (Unionist) at New York City.

in any instance, nor denouncing slavery as a crime, but only vaguely alluding to those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote"; and

Whereas it is manifestly designed, by this Report, to give neither offence to the slaveholders of the South nor countenance to the anti-slavery movement of the North, but to quiet agitation in the ranks of the friends and patrons of the Tract Society, by administering an opiate prepared with all possible priestly cunning and skill; therefore,

Resolved, That we renewedly bear our testimony against the American Tract Society, as an inherently pro-slavery and thoroughly time-serving, and, therefore, destitute of Christian integrity and common humanity; so that to contribute to its funds, or to give it any countenance whatever, is to be guilty of a moral offence of the first magnitude.

Resolved, That, in continuing on its Publishing Committee Rev. NICHOLAS ADAMS, of Boston, the author of that surprisingly audacious and wicked work entitled *A South Side View of Slavery*, the American Tract Society had deepened its guilt, and revealed its moral deformity so plainly that they will henceforth be utterly without excuse who shall continue to bestow their patronage upon it.

Just at the close of the meeting, when the vote on the resolutions was about to be taken, Mr. Garrison said that as there had been no time for the discussion of the above resolutions, he would withdraw them. Accordingly no vote was taken upon them.

During the same day Mr. Pillsbury offered the following resolution to the Republican party:

Resolved, That in John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Nathaniel P. Banks and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, and the New York Tribune, we recognize full and fair exponents and representatives of the acknowledged leaders of the Republican party; and,

Whereas one of these boasts of having supported a slaveholder for the Presidency, and that he would do so again; and another boldly asserts that he would to-day "intrude the interests of the country to a Palmetto man" (meaning a South Carolinian), and then adds, "I would in God's name say, give us a Palmetto man always, forever, because wherever there is a Palmetto man there is always a will"; another said in the Senate of the United States that the Republican party is pre-eminently the party of State Rights, and other also declared to the Senate and to the South that the Republican party is emphatically the party of Union, and that, were it in power, every Unionist should die a traitor's death and leave a traitor's name in the history of the Republic; therefore,

Resolved, That until these men repent of these declarations, or the party repudiate these measures and brand them as they deserve, we shall hold the party and their leaders as really more dangerous to the cause of Liberty and humanity than any party ever formed since the foundation of the Government.

The resolutions were adopted in a body, after which in answer to an inquiry, the president stated that these resolutions were included in the number adopted.

MR. BURLEIGH moved a reconsideration of the vote adopting the resolutions, with a view of opposing those offered by Mr. Pillsbury.

The motion to reconsider was carried, when Mr. Burleigh opposed them as false in logic and false in fact.

After some further discussion the resolutions with the exception of Mr. Pillsbury's were adopted.

On motion of Mr. Phillips these last were laid on the table.

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was read from the Trustees of the church, in which the Assembly said, requesting that the members of the Assembly would not in any way deface or defile it; and that those who used tobacco would endeavor not to abuse thereby their stewards. What will the Rev. tobacco chewers of the body do? The famous Dr. Ross is again on hand for the defence of slavery, though the newspapers say that the majority of his brethren look upon him with disfavour for his recent frank avowal of opinion.

For example, the following from one of his recent letters to Dr. Albert Barnes: "The relation of master and slave is sanctioned by the Bible; that is a relation belonging to the same category as that of husband and wife, parent and child, master and apprentice, master and hireling; that the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, were ordained in Eden, for man, as man, and modified after the fall, while the relation of the very, as a system of labor, is only one form of the government ordained of God, over fallen and degraded man; that the evils in the system are the same evils of oppression we see in the relations of husband and wife, and all other forms of government."

"I rejoice that all the South now know that God gives right to hold slaves, and with that right obligations they must fulfil."

Some persons apprehend a division of the church on the slavery question at this session. New Hampshire is the only New England State represented in the Assembly by delegates from Congregational Associations. The Report of the Delegate to the General Association of Massachusetts shows some excitement in that body relative to sending delegates to the General Assembly; his reason is complicity with slavery. Referred to the General Association, and two persons are from the present Assembly to the Association. New York refused to send delegates for the same reason.

The Committee of Bills and Ordinances, to which was referred a number of memorials on the subject of Slavery, made their report.

Twenty-seven memorials have been presented to the Assembly in regard to Slavery. Of these 11 are from Ohio, 4 from Illinois, 3 from Indiana, 2 from Iowa, 3 from New York, and 1 each from Iowa, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. The memorials show that a strong feeling exists in the Church that the Assembly should express its views fully. The opinions of the Presbyterian Church are on record, and the Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed them. But an impression prevails that of late different opinions are held, and defended, by Ministers and Ecclesiastical bodies in our connection. It is reported that it is taught in certain localities, that Slavery as a relation stands on the same basis as husband and wife, as parent and child; that it is right, equal, natural, benevolent in its operations, and ought to be perpetuated. Of these views and teachings the Assembly declares its utter condemnation—At the same time the Assembly recognizes the fact that there is in the Southern Church a different class of opinions; that many there regard Slavery as an evil, and demand and expect that it be gradually abolished by the influence of the Gospel. In regard to this second class, the Assembly has no feelings to express but those of confidence and sympathy.

On Tuesday the question of Slavery came up for discussion. Mr. Clark of New York solicited the floor for Dr. Ross, who desired previous to his discussion to state his views. The request was granted. Mr. B. commenced his speech by saying that his object was to throw oil—not the oil of violence—but the oil of reason upon the waters before him—he would speak in love—the great fact of his life was that every body loved him. Men loved him, women loved him, boys and girls loved him, and slaves loved him. He would read extracts from his letters to Rev. Albert Barnes, as a fair exposition of his views. He had written what he had, with the greatest care and after the most mature deliberation. Those letters were the condensed results of his life—he had not said the slavery ought to be perpetuated. He thought slavery would be done away in God's good time. He had not retracted a thousandth part of a hair from those letters and before God he never would. He was and always had been in favor of agitation. He believed in it and would be willing to come up here every year and agitate. He then read an extract from his letters to Dr. Barnes. The first extract we omit as we have it not now hand. He proceeded to read as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This is the affirmation of the liberty claimed by infidelity. It teaches us that which is not true, and it claims as right that which is not given. It asserts nothing new however. Right claim to that individual right, beyond the limitation God has put, which man has ever asserted, when, in this struggle for liberty, he has relied to be guided and controlled by the Word and Providence of his Creator.

Now, I affirm, and you, I think, will not contradict me, that the position, all "men are created equal," is not self-evident; that the nature of the case makes it impossible for it to be self-evident. For the created nature of man is not in the claim of things on which self-evident propositions can, by possibility, be predicated. It is equally clear, and needs no debate, that it is not self-evident that all men have inalienable rights—that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and may be altered or abolished whenever to them such rights may be better secured. All these assertions can be known to be true or false, only from revelation of the Creator or from examination and induction of reasoning, covering the nature and obligations of the man on the whole face of the earth. What revelation and examination of facts do teach, I will now show. The whole battle ground, as to the truth of this series of assertions, is on the first affirmation, "that all men are created equal."

He proceeded to illustrate. God ordains the Russian form of Government, because he sees that for a time that will be productive of more good to the degraded people of Russia than any other. Now has the Emperor a right to change at will the form of his government, to that of the United States? No! God forbids him. Why? Because he would destroy good and bring immense evil in his empire. He asked again, have the Russians Serfs and nobles, yes all consenting, the right to make that change. No; in such an attempt they would deprive themselves of the right to be free. Not that God ordains the Russian type of rule to be perpetual. But the Emperor is bound to secure the welfare of his empire. He is bound to secure, as far as is consistent with the public good, the happiness of his subjects. He is bound to secure the happiness of his people who thus have the measure of liberty they could bear under the one man rule. This development would be without evolution. It would be

an example to the world. Government men skin and then bleed him on rather than on rather.

After five years denied the Golden Rule meant to do good to the world. He thought most thoroughly, and that neither of the facts and Southern editor had platform and across York, in the parent and between it was Mr. Ross. He closed men were alienable element is earned.

The Supreme postponed the motion, case had not that the Supreme acquiesce in his decision prohibit it, and such the same request to the reiterate that and then gentlemen Niagara were expelled, ex-Rail Road, other corporations bribed, and actions than from clause clause

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